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The Complete Symphonies of Haydn
Volume Eight

HAYDN SYMPHONIES NOS. 1-19

ANTAL DORATI • THE PHILHARMONIA HUNGARICA

Joseph Haydn. Anonymous miniature portrait,
Gesellschaft der Musikfreunde, Vienna. It shows Haydn at about the age of fifty (c.1782)

Unless otherwise stated, the photographs in this booklet have been reproduced from *Joseph Haydn, His Life in Contemporary Pictures* by Lazlo Somfai (Faber and Faber).

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Haydn: The Symphonies (1-19)
The Philharmonia Hungarica conducted by Antal Dorati

SIDE ONE

SYMPHONY No. 1 in D major
1. Presto (4:52)
2. Andante (5:38)
3. Finale - Presto (2:00)

SYMPHONY No. 2 in C major
1. Allegro (3:21)
2. Andante (2:58)
3. Finale - Presto (2:36)

SIDE TWO

SYMPHONY No. 3 in G major
1. Allegro (5:14)
2. Andante moderato (6:15)
3. Menuet e Trio (3:07)
4. Finale - Alla breve (1:48)

SYMPHONY No. 4 in D major
1. Presto (4:00)
2. Andante (3:48)
3. Finale - Tempo di Menuetto (5:28)

SIDE THREE

SYMPHONY No. 5 in A major
1. Adagio ma non troppo (4:58)
2. Allegro (6:05)
3. Menuet e Trio (3:35)
4. Finale - Presto (1:37)

SYMPHONY No. 6 in D major - "Le Matin" (beginning)
1. Adagio - Allegro (5:43)
2. Adagio - Andante (8:00)

ERWIN RAMOR - solo violin, ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello

SIDE FOUR

SYMPHONY No. 6 in D major - "Le Matin" (conclusion)
3. Menuet e Trio (4:39)
4. Finale - Allegro (4:47)

ERWIN RAMOR - solo violin, ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello

SYMPHONY No. 7 in C major "Le Midi"
1. Adagio - Allegro (7:35)
2. Recitativo - Adagio (8:28)
3. Menuetto e Trio (3:31)
4. Finale - Allegro (3:52)

ERWIN RAMOR - first solo violin
JIRI GERLICH - second solo violin
ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello
BÉLA LORANT - solo double-bass

SIDE FIVE

SYMPHONY No. 8 in G major - "Le Soir"
1. Allegro molto (5:23)
2. Andante (8:03)
3. Menuetto e Trio (4:37)
4. 'La Tempesta' - Presto (5:17)

ERWIN RAMOR - first solo violin
JIRI GERLICH - second solo violin
ZOLTÁN THIRRING - solo cello
BÉLA LORANT - solo double-bass
LÁSZLÓ BERANYAI - solo bassoon

Booklet Cover: Haydn's birthplace in Rohrau, Lower Austria, oil-painting, unsigned

SIDE SIX

SYMPHONY No. 9 in C major
1. Allegro molto (4:12)
2. Andante (5:04)
3. Finale - Menuetto - Allegretto (3:14)

SYMPHONY No. 10 in D major
1. Allegro (5:09)
2. Andante (4:42)
3. Finale - Presto (3:07)

SIDE SEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 11 in E flat major
1. Adagio cantabile (7:33)
2. Allegro (3:18)
3. Menuet e Trio (4:05)
4. Finale - Presto (3:28)

SIDE EIGHT

SYMPHONY No. 12 in E major
1. Allegro (5:51)
2. Adagio (6:42)
3. Finale - Presto (4:04)

SIDE NINE

SYMPHONY No. 13 in D major
1. Allegro molto (5:18)
2. Adagio cantabile (6:18)
3. Menuet e Trio (5:10)
4. Finale - Allegro molto (4:34)

SIDE TEN

SYMPHONY No. 14 in A major
1. Allegro molto (3:50)
2. Andante (3:43)
3. Menuetto e Trio - Allegretto (4:13)
4. Finale - Allegro (2:58)

SYMPHONY No. 15 in D major
1. Adagio - Presto - Adagio (6:05)
2. Menuet e Trio (5:10)
3. Andante (4:35)
4. Finale - Presto (2:20)

SIDE ELEVEN

SYMPHONY No. 16 in B flat major
1. Allegro (4:23)
2. Andante non troppo (5:12)
3. Finale - Presto (3:03)

SYMPHONY No. 17 in F major
1. Allegro (5:02)
2. Andante, ma non troppo (6:20)
3. Finale - Allegro molto (3:25)

SIDE TWELVE

SYMPHONY No. 18 in G major
1. Andante moderato (6:52)
2. Allegro molto (4:53)
3. Tempo di Menuet (4:20)

SYMPHONY No. 19 in D major
1. Allegro molto (5:20)
2. Andante (4:26)
3. Presto (2:48)

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Antal Dorati.

Antal Dorati

Antal Dorati was born in Budapest in 1906, and his parents, both musicians, recognised his talents and sent him at the age of fourteen to the Academy of Music in Budapest. His teachers were Zoltan Kodály, Béla Bartók and Leo Weiner. He graduated at eighteen as composer, pianist and conductor, and was the youngest person in the history of the Academy to receive a degree.

Soon after, he was appointed conductor of the Royal Opera House in Budapest, where he worked for four years. In 1928 he went to Dresden as the assistant of Fritz Busch. Between 1928 and 1933 he was principal conductor of the Opera House in Munster, at the same time appearing as guest conductor at several other Opera Houses in Germany, and with orchestras in many major musical centres.

In 1934 he joined the Ballet Russe de Monte Carlo, and seven years later was appointed Musical Director of the Ballet Theatre. Meanwhile in 1937 he made his American debut as a symphonic conductor at an all-Beethoven concert with the National Symphony Orchestra of Washington D.C., and during 1939–40 made an extensive tour of Australia. Returning to the States, Dorati became Director of the New Opera Company in New York.

In 1945 he left the Ballet Theatre and was charged with the organisation of the Dallas Symphony Orchestra, and in 1949 he became Musical Director of the Minneapolis Symphony Orchestra, and during his eleven years with them, he was responsible for numerous commissions, world premieres, and American premieres of important works.

From 1963 to 1966 Antal Dorati was Chief Conductor to the BBC Symphony Orchestra, and took the orchestra on a tour of Switzerland in October 1964, and the United States in the Spring of 1965. He has also made a return to opera, and conducts guest performances at Covent Garden, London, the Wiener Staatsoper, the Opera House, Rome, the Hamburg Opera and Maggio Musicale in Florence. He is now principal conductor of the Stockholm Philharmonic Orchestra and with him the orchestra made its first tour of the United States in 1968 with such success that a return tour was arranged for 1970. In October 1970, Antal Dorati was appointed chief conductor of the National Symphony Orchestra, Washington D.C., in addition to his commitments with the Stockholm orchestra.

When the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna in 1957, from refugee musicians who had fled Hungary during the 1956 revolution, Antal Dorati was one of the orchestra's first conductors. He made several recordings with them during this period, so that the London project of recording the complete Haydn symphonies with Dorati and the Philharmonia Hungarica represents the renewal of a long-standing association.

Philharmonia Hungarica

Among the hundreds of thousands of refugees who left their home country during the Hungarian Revolution in the late Autumn of 1956 were many musicians, who set out for the free world with their instruments as their only possessions. It was yet another instance of the tragic tradition of the Hungarian history of culture, which, over two decades ago, Béla Bartók summed up in these poignant words: ". . . One must get away from here, no matter where to . . .".

From among these exiled musicians, who, almost without exception, came from the leading Hungarian Symphony Orchestras – as for example the Hungarian National Philharmonia, the Budapest Radio Orchestra and State Opera Orchestra – the Philharmonia Hungarica was formed in Vienna, in the Spring of 1957, thanks to the spontaneous and generous assistance of several philanthropic organizations, mainly the Congress for the Freedom of Culture, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the International Rescue Committee and the Swiss Committee for Aid to the Freedom Fighters of Hungary.

Soon the artists resumed their serious artistic work, which, in a very short time, assured a leading place for this ensemble in the international music world.

The enthusiastic approval met with again and again by them during their many tours in Europe and North America, as well as during musical festivals, is a proof of the importance and vitality of this orchestra.

It is all to the credit of the cultural policy of the Federal German Republic, the regions of North Rhine-Westphalia and the city of Marl, to have recognized the unique value of the Philharmonia Hungarica, and, through generous financial assistance, to have assured the continued existence of an internationally appreciated orchestra.

Many of the members of the Orchestra are winners of valuable music prizes and have successfully taken part in international music competitions. The Ramor Quartet, consisting of instrumentalists from the string sections, gained first prize in the Geneva International Music Competition in 1957, and in 1962 the same prize was awarded to the Wind Quintet of the Philharmonia Hungarica.

Several of the members of the Philharmonia Hungarica were attracted to the career of soloist, others distinguished themselves through invitations to perform with renowned European and American Orchestras. And yet they all resolved, out of a sense of artistic integrity and patriotism, to remain loyal to the commitment of their own orchestra.

As an instance of the reputation enjoyed by the Orchestra with international audiences and press, let me quote the words which a Greek critic wrote on the occasion of a series of concerts at the 1962 Athens International Festival: "Our country – Music! That is the message of religious and patriotic faith one almost hears at a performance of the Philharmonia Hungarica. One also gets the impression that these men and women, who were forced to leave their country against their will, have brought with them, and preserved, not only the music, but – a particle of their home country!"

Notes on Symphonies 1-19 by H. C. Robbins Landon

It is now well known that the 107 symphonies of Haydn are not in strict chronological order. The great Austrian scholar, Eusebius von Mandyczewski, assembled his list of 104 symphonies in 1907, in connection with the opening volumes (Symphonies Nos. 1 – 40) of the Breitkopf & Härtel *Gesamtausgabe,* planned to coincide with the centenary celebrations for Haydn's death in 1909. Mandyczewski left out three works, a lost Symphony in D (known to us from Haydn's thematic *Entwurf-Katalog*, about which more will be said *infra*) and two other works which he believed were, respectively, a string Quartet (Opus 1, No.5) and a *Divertimento* or *Partita* in B-flat – both works which modern scholarship has rightly restored to Haydn's symphonic *oeuvre*. As for the chronological order, Mandyczewski used such autographs as were then available (almost all Haydn's autographs are dated), and with other information – mainly the famous Breitkopf Catalogues – he put together a list, the chronological principle of which, as he stated in his foreword, was not to date a work too early. Since 1907, much new information has come to light, even to the rediscovery of dated Haydn autographs. One such manuscript is Symphony No. 40, which Mandyczewski had placed *c.* 1770 on the basis of a manuscript dated 1770 in Göttweig Abbey on the Danube. Subsequently the dated autograph turned up and showed that the work had been written in 1763 which meant that it ought to have been inserted in Mandyczewski's list together with Nos. 12 and 13.

The principal sources for dating Haydn's earlier Symphonies are: (1) the autographs, such as have survived; (2) dated contemporary copies and entries in catalogues, such as the Breitkopf Catalogues, which were issued almost every year of 1762 to 1787 and which offered for sale MS. and printed copies of the latest music of all *genres*; (3) the period of entry in Haydn's so-called *Entwurf-Katalog*, a running draft catalogue with incipits which the composer began about 1765 and kept till the end of the century or even to about 1805; the entries are sometimes sporadic and often in blocks. But by using dated autographs and other evidence, we can date fairly precisely the various blocks in the *Entwurf-Katalog*. Unfortunately the first pages are missing, and they contained all the early symphonies, entered into the catalogue by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler (whose son Johann was also to be Haydn's principal music copyist). We know this because the page with which *EK* now begins contains the last entry of this large symphonic group (as it happens, the sixth and final work of a group of six miniature symphonies which are entitled *Scherzandi* on most contemporary manuscripts). The situation with regard to the symphonies included in this album is a chronological spectrum ranging from about 1759 to 1763. The following table will, therefore, place the symphonies in chronological rather than numerical order.

Date of composition	*Number*	*Remarks*
c. 1759-60	1-5,10,11, 15,18	After world War II, an old collection of musical manuscripts from the Library of Counts Festetics in Keszthely Castle was deposited in the National Library at Budapest, which institution also houses the Esterházy Archives. When preparing the first critical edition of Haydn's symphonies, which is used for this recording, the writer of these notes ordered microfilms of this Festetics Collection, which included *inter alia* a whole series of early Haydn symphonies, the copies of which were stamped with the signature of a "Fürnberg Obrist Lieut". It was clear that we were dealing with a member of the family for which Haydn wrote his first string quartets in Weinzierl Castle near Melk (Lower Austria). (It is now thought that it was about 1757 that Haydn composed these quartets for Carl Joseph Edler von Fürnberg at Weinzierl.) In 1759 Haydn was engaged as music director to Count Morzin, who had a pretty summer castle at Lukavec in Bohemia. As is well known, Haydn wrote his first symphonies for Morzin. It was not known, however, exactly which symphonies Haydn composed at Lukavec, though the composer himself always maintained that what we know as Symphony No.1 was actually his first work in the form. The newly discovered collection from Lieut.- Col. von Fürnberg proved to be a sensation. (1) It was a series of works, obviously by a number of Viennese professional copyists, some of whose hands were already well known to us. The copies all appeared – on the evidence of the paper and watermarks – to be very early, perhaps as early as about 1760. (2) It soon became clear that Haydn himself supervised this series; he made small corrections and one major change (in the horn parts of No. 11's opening movement). (3) It soon developed that the Festetics Collection also owned a whole series of Haydn's very earliest quartets, also with holograph corrections by Haydn himself. (These new quartet sources were the basis of the early works printed in the Collected Edition of Haydn's Quartets currently being published by Faber Music, edited by the present writer and Reginald Barrett-Ayres; the edition will be recorded by the Aeolian Quartet for Argo Records, beginning in 1973). Thus the new symphony series was able to establish (1) which symphonies Haydn wrote for Lukavec, i.e. between about 1757 (when he probably began writing symphonies) and May 1761 (when he went to Eisenstadt as *Vice-Capellmeister* to Prince Esterházy); the series cannot have been prepared much later than May 1761, because there is no work included in the MSS. which is known to have been composed after Haydn started to compose for Eisenstadt; (2) it established the textual basis for all these early symphonies. The trumpet and timpani parts of No. 33, which are not always present in early sources, are included in the Furnberg MS. and are thus indisputably genuine; conversely, Symphony No.37, which exists in one important MS. with trumpets and timpani, is scored in the Fürnberg MS. only for oboes, horns and strings. The Fürnberg symphony MSS. include Nos. 1-5, 10, 11, 15, 18, 27, 32, 33, 37 and 'A' (I: 107) and these are Haydn's earliest works in the form, composed for the Morzin family at Lukavec Castle or in Vienna, where the Count spent the winter. It will be seen that as a result of this discovery, the chronological order of Haydn's first forty symphonies has been rendered rather chaotic. No. 27 is found on page one of the *Entwurf-Katalog*, where it was added in Haydn's hand. There are also numbers that Haydn gave to these entries which are quite revealing. The *EK* starts with what is probably page five of the original numbering, and thus the Lukavec symphonies are mostly missing. The first entry is the last of six so-called *Scherzandi*, miniature symphonies that Haydn included among his larger works in the form. Scherzando No.6 is in Joseph Elssler's hand but with Haydn's "N 20" over it. No.27, the next entry, is marked "N 12" (thus it belonged to a much earlier group). The third entry, the *incipit* of No.29 (composed in 1765), is marked "N 40". The *EK* entries for Nos. 32 and 33 are of no chronological interest because they come in sections which were compiled much later, in one case as late as the early nineteenth century when Haydn was preparing his big thematic catalogue known as *HV (Haydn-Verzeichnis).*
c. 1760-1	19	It is not necessarily true that the so-called "Fürnberg-Morzin" symphonies were composed for Lukavec. Haydn's first opera, *Der krumme Teufel*, was performed in Vienna in 1759 and the Fürnberg MSS. include absolutely all the symphonies Haydn wrote for Count Morzin at Lukavec Castle. It is, for example, possible that Symphonies Nos. 19 and 'B' (I: 108) are also works that should be included among the Morzin compositions. No.19 was entered in *EK* at a late date, while "B" is not in *EK* at all; both were no doubt part of the missing opening part of the catalogue which contained all Haydn's early symphonies. The earliest reference to No. 19 is the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1766 (compare No. 20 in the Decca series, also a transitional work first known from the Breitkopf Catalogue of 1766 – see Symphonies 20-35, page 7). Symphony "B" is not in *EK* at all, but Haydn remembered it when compiling the *HV* in 1805 and it figures as No.7 of *HV*. Otherwise its first dated reference is 1765, in Göttweig Abbey.
1761	6-8	The famous trilogy which Haydn composed for Prince Paul Anton Esterházy, who is said to have suggested Haydn to his new *Vice-Capellmeister* (we have this information from Haydn's biographer, Dies). Haydn was engaged in May 1761, and No. 7 has survived in autograph and is dated 1761.
c. 1761-2	16,17	No. 16 is missing in *EK* but is included in *HV* as No. 12; its earliest preserved source is in the Benedictine Abbey of Göttweig, dated 1766. No. 17, added later in *EK* – both works obviously belonged to the lost opening pages – is first known to us from two German catalogues of 1766: Breitkopf and the Hohenzollern Castle of Sigmaringen. Both are probably early works for Prince Esterházy.
1762	9	The autograph, dated 1762, was formerly owned by Artaria & Co., Vienna, Haydn's publishers. It has since disappeared. A set of parts dated 1766 is owned by Göttweig.
c. 1762-3	14	Not in *EK*, No. 14's authenticity is assured by a set of authentic parts, copied by Joseph Elssler and sent to Dr. Stocker in Linz (now owned by the Augustine Abbey of St. Florian), and also by the fact that Haydn included it in *HV* as No. 8. It was copied by Pater Leander at Göttweig Abbey in 1764 and was probably one of the first works after Nos. 6-8 that Haydn wrote in Eisenstadt.
1763	12,13	Dated autographs, both in the Esterházy Archives at Budapest.

Haydn's first important position was as music director and chamber composer to Count Ferdinand Maximilian Morzin, who kept an orchestra at Lukavec Castle near Pilsen; it was Carl Joseph Fürnberg who had recommended Haydn to Morzin. Unfortunately we know nothing of the orchestra members, and nothing about Haydn's circumstances at Lukavec except that he received (as he himself related in later years) the salary of 200 Gulden with board, lodging and *Naturalien* (candles, meat, and so on). In recent years, however, many compositions of the Lukavec period have come to light, particularly in Czechoslovakian archives. It turns out that Haydn wrote several kinds of music at Lukavec – not only symphonies but also a large number of works, mostly sextets, for wind band. It seems that the cultivation of wind band music (it was called, in German, *Harmonie-Musique*) and a Bohemian specialty which at once attracted the young and versatile Haydn, who composed avidly in this new and then exotic medium. The experience he gained thereby proved invaluable for his understanding of wind instruments – their individual colours and the peculiar problems of ensemble which arise when a group of them plays together. Another interesting product of the Morzin years is a *Divertimento* in F (Hoboken 11:16) for two violins, two *cors anglais,* two bassoons and two horns, perhaps the first recorded use of English horns in Haydn's music; it was to become an instrument peculiarly associated with the composer, much as the clarinet was to be inseparably connected with Mozart. In Haydn's Symphony No. 22 we have an extraordinary example of his use of *cors anglais.*

Although we have no list of orchestral members for the Morzin *Capelle* we have, in the extant compositions of the period, an accurate idea of its constitution (though not, of course, the size of the strings). The *Harmonie-Musique* consisted of oboes or *cors anglais,* bassoons and horns; there were no flutes in the *Capelle.* Apart from the *Harmonie-Musique*, Haydn also had at his disposal two trumpets and kettledrums, which he used, at this period, exclusively in festive works in the key of C major; Nos. 32 and 33 are known to be Morzin works with this enlarged orchestration.

The dates of Haydn's tenure as *Musicdirector und Kammercompositor* to Count Morzin are also vague. The authentic biography by G.A. Greisinger (who saw a good deal of Haydn from 1799 to 1809) gives 1759 as the date of the composer's engagement and 1759 as the date of Symphony No. 1. Yet in recent years, a copy of Symphony No. 37 in the Archives of the Princes of Schwarzenberg, Castle Böhmisch Krumau (Český Krumlov), has been discovered which is clearly dated "1758" on the titlepage; and No.37 is also one of the works in the collection of Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg and is thus a Lukavec (or rather a Morzin) symphony. When delivering material about his early compositions to Breitkopf & Härtel (through Griesinger), Haydn thought that he began composing symphonies about 1757, a date which would accord with the evidence of the Schwarzenberg copy of Symphony No. 37 – it generally took at least a year for copies of Haydn's newest symphonies to circulate to the Austro-Hungarian provinces. Perhaps Morzin really engaged Haydn in 1757.

Nor do we know the terminal date. The count is said not to have allowed the members of his *Capelle* to marry; when Haydn made the dire mistake of marrying Maria Anna Keller (daughter of a wigmaker, who was the brother of a violinist in St. Stephan's Cathedral when Haydn had been a chorister) at St. Stephan's on 26 November 1760, are we to assume that Count Morzin had already dismissed his band? The sources tell us that he was forced to do so for financial reasons.

It seems unlikely that the prudent Haydn would have married secretly; perhaps he received a special dispensation from the Count. Haydn had in fact fallen in love with the younger daughter of Keller, but she had taken the veil in 1756. The composer had taught her music and seems to have been beholden to the family altogether, for Keller persuaded him – Griesinger says "auf dringendes Zurenden des Friseurs und aus Dankbarkeit gegen ihm" (at the insistent persuasion of the wigmaker and because of obligation to him) – to marry the eldest daughter, three years his senior. It was a disastrous marriage. We will sum it up in the shocked words of a Swedish visitor to Haydn after the first public performance of *The Creation* at Vienna in 1799. The visitor went to call on Haydn found the composer out but his wife in; the conversation fell on *The Creation*; in hideous Viennese dialect Maria Anna *née* Keller said, "People say it's very good; I wouldn't know". The Swedish visitor concluded that "she was neither educated nor musical". Haydn came "and his wife trotted off, surrounded by her dogs and cats . . . ".

We support it was in the autumn of 1760 that Morzin decided to abandon his very expensive orchestra; perhaps they continued in his service until Easter 1761. The Count spent the winters in Vienna, and it was probably there that Prince Paul Anton Esterházy heard a concert of Haydn's. In the Eisenstadt catalogues, we note that as early as 1760, a new Haydn symphony was acquired. At any rate, as soon as Haydn was free, Prince Esterházy engaged him, as *Vice-Capellmeister*, in May 1761. Haydn was to receive 400 Gulden, or twice that which he had received from Count Morzin, and the usual other benefits. The contract reads as follows:

This day (according to the date hereto appended) Joseph Heyden (sic), native of Rohrau in Austria, is accepted and appointed (Vice-Capellmeister in the service of his Serene Highness Prince Paul Anton, Prince of the Holy Roman Empire, of Eszterháza and Galantha, etc., subject to conditions here following:–

1. Whereas the Capellmeister at Eisenstadt, namely Gregorious Werner, having devoted many years of true and faithful service to the Princely house, is now, on account of his great age and infirmities, unfit to perform the duties incumbent on him, it is hereby declared that the said Gregorious Werner, in consideration of his long services, shall retain the post of Capellmeister, and the said Joseph Heyden as Vice-Capellmeister shall, so far as regards the music of the choir, be subordinate to the Capellmeister and receive his instructions. But in everything else relating to musical performances, and in all that concerns the orchestra, the Vice-Capellmeister shall have the sole direction.

2. The said Joseph Heyden shall be considered and treated as a member of the household. Therefore his Serene Highness is graciously pleased to place confidence in his conducting himself as becomes an honourable official of a princely house. He must be temperate, not showing himself overbearing towards his musicians, but mild and lenient, straightforward and composed. It is especially to be observed that when the orchestra shall be summoned to perform before company, the Vice-Capellmeister and all the musicians shall appear in uniform and the said Joseph Heyden shall take care that he and all the members of his orchestra follow the instructions given, and appear in white stockings, white linen, powdered and with either a queue or a tiewig.

3. Whereas the other musicians are referred for directions to the said Vice-Capellmeister, he shall therefore take the more care to conduct himself in an exemplary manner, abstaining from undue familiarity and from vulgarity in eating, drinking and conversation, not dispensing with the respect due to him, but acting uprightly and influencing his subordinates to preserve such harmony as is becoming in them, remembering how displeasing the consequences of any discord or dispute would be to his Serene Highness.

4. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall be under obligation to compose such music as his Serene Highness may command, and neither to communicate such compositions to any other person, nor to allow them to be copied, but he shall retain them for the absolute use of his Highness, and not compose for any other person without the knowledge and permission of his Highness.

5. The said Joseph Heyden shall appear daily in the antechamber before and after midday, and inquire whether his Highness is pleased to order a performance of the orchestra. On receipt of his orders he shall communicate them to the other musicians, and take care to be punctual at the appointed time, and to ensure punctuality in his subordinates, making a note of those who arrive late or absent themselves altogether.

6. Should any quarrel or cause of complaint arise, the Vice-Capellmeister shall endeavour to arrange it in order that his Serene Highness may not be incommoded with trifling disputes; but should any more serious difficulty occur, which the said Joseph Heyden is unable to set right, his Serene Highness must then be respectfully called upon to decide the matter.

7. The said Vice-Capellmeister shall take careful charge of all music and musical instruments, and be responsible for any injury that may occur to them from carelessness or neglect.

8. The said Joseph Heyden shall be obliged to instruct the female vocalists, in order that they may not forget the country that which they have been taught with much effort and expense in Vienna, and, as the said Vice-Capellmeister is proficient on various instruments, he shall take care himself to practice on all with which he is acquainted.

9. A copy of this agreement and instructions shall be given to the said Vice-Capellmeister and his subordinates, in order that he may be able to hold them to their obligations, therein established.

10. It is considered unnecessary to set forth in detail the services required of the said Joseph Heyden, more particularly since his Serene Highness is pleased to hope that of his own free will he would strictly observe not only these regulations, but all others that may from time to time be made by his Highness, and that he will place the orchestra on such a footing, and in such good order, that he may bring honour upon himself and deserve the further favour of the Prince his master, who thus confides in his zeal and discretion.

11. A yearly salary of four hundred florins (Gulden) to be received in quarterly payments is hereby bestowed by his Serene Highness upon the said Vice-Capellmeister.

12. In addition, the said Joseph Heyden shall board at the officers' table, or receive a half-Gulden per day in lieu thereof.

13. Finally this agreement shall hold good for at least three years from May 1, 1761, with the further condition that if at the conclusion of this term the said Joseph Heyden shall desire to leave the service, he shall give his Highness six months' previous notice of his intention.

14. His Serene Highness undertakes to keep Joseph Heyden in his service during this time, and should he be satisfied with him, he may look forward to being appointed Capellmeister. This, however, must not be understood to deprive his Serene Highness of the right to dismiss the said Joseph Heyden at the expiration of the term, should he see fit to do so.

Duplicate copies of this document shall be executed and exchanged. Given at Vienna this first day of May, 1761.

Ad mandatum Celissimi Principis Johann Stiffel, Secret.

This remarkable document has, of course, been the subject of endless discussion, social, musical, and in recent years, political: in eastern European countries it is, as one might expect, cited as the perfect example of Capitalistic exploitation of the artist. Without wishing to enter into a Marxist debate on the subject, we would nevertheless observe that as far as Haydn was concerned, he obtained a security from the Esterházy family which enabled him to retire, as an old man, in comfort. Not only did Haydn later witness Mozart's shameful poverty and death, but he could also observe the fate of one of his contemporaries, Carl Ditters (later von Dittersdorf), with whom – precisely at this period – Haydn was on friendly terms. The two men, both respected composers in the early 1760s, often listened to music by other masters. "About each new piece", relates Dittersdorf in his autobiography, "that we heard by other composers, we made our judgement *tête-à-tête*; we approved of that which was good and objected to that which required objections". Dittersdorf rose high; he was even raised to the nobility; but that did not prevent him dying in utter poverty, his desk drawer full of symphonies, quartets and harpsichord music that no one would purchase or perform, in an obscure Bohemian village in 1799. He and his family were the guests of a sympathetic Count who literally prevented this once world-famous composer from dying of starvation. With a sure sense of what might one day be his similar fate, Haydn became a great diplomat, the ideal go-between in a situation which in another man's hands, might have been explosive. (Consider Beethoven's having to organise a similar position . . .) Haydn won the hearts of his musicians and the respect of the Prince. In only one respect did he fail, and that was in the case of the crotchety old Gregor Werner who, as an Establishment composer of severe church music, had perhaps forgotten his own youth when he, too, had written gay secular music and popular organ concertos. To a man of Werner's ideas, Haydn's modern music was complete frippery and frivolry; the old man described his hated *Vice-Capellmeister* as "a mere fop", "a scribbler of songs" (in Austrian dialect *G'sanglmacher*). Just before the angry and jealous Werner died, he wrote a letter to the Prince "from his sick-bed" dated October 1765, in which he accused Haydn of lack of discipline, of a chaotic condition of the music in the choir loft, of the instruments' neglect (Werner even suggests that some had been pilfered), and so forth. It is an appalling document. It called forth a stern reprimand from the Prince – who was now Nicolaus I "The Magnificent", he having succeeded his brother Prince Paul Anton upon the latter's death in 1762. "Finally", reads the reprimand, "*Capel Meister* Haydn is urgently enjoined to apply himself to composition more diligently than heretofore, and especially to write such pieces as can be played on the gamba (baryton), of which pieces we have seen very few up to now; and to be able to judge his diligence, he shall at all times send us the first copy, cleanly and carefully written, of each and every new composition." Haydn rejoined in a characteristically subtle way: by the *Entwurf-Katalog,* to which constant reference has been made in these notes. It showed in a dramatic way that Haydn had, by October 1765, written a very large amount of music for the court at Eisenstadt, also including many baryton works. But being a diplomat, Haydn immediately dashed off some more baryton trios, and on 4 January 1766, Prince Nicolaus writes from Eszterháza Castle to his Estates Manager von Rahier: ". . . This very moment I received 3 pieces from Hayden (sic), and I am very satisfied with them. You will therefore see that he gets 12 ducats from the cashier's office in my name; tell him at the same time to write 6 more pieces similar to those he sent me, and also 2 solo pieces, and to see that they are sent here at once . . ." By the time Werner died, on 5 March 1766, Haydn's diplomacy had won the day and he was promoted to full *Capellmeister.*

Prince Paul Esterhazy, Haydn's first patron, had travelled widely through Italy and Germany and had amassed a large collection of foreign music, especially French vocal music and Italian instrumental music (including works like Vivaldi's *Seasons*). He played the violin and violoncello and took an active interest in the *Capelle,* of which Werner had been *Capellmeister* since 1728. As early as 1759, the Prince had engaged new musicians and also sent his leader, Luigi Tomasini, on a study trip to Venice. When Haydn was appointed, the orchestra was again enlarged; in 1761 the regular instrumental group consisted of one flute, two oboes, two bassoons, two horns, three violins and violoncello. There was, moreover, a church *Capelle* which included, apart from the singers, a couple of violins, a violoncello and a double bass. Many of the players were proficient on other instruments also; two new horn players were engaged in 1763, both of whom could play string bass instruments as well. The musicians were generally resident at Eisenstadt from 1761 to 1765, though occasionally they were transported to one of the princely lordships elsewhere. In the autumn of 1764, the whole *Capelle* was taken to the pretty Castle at Kittsee, owned by the Esterházy family, which was across the river from Pressburg (Bratislava, ČSSR). The harpsichord at Kittsee was in ill repair and the organ-builder from Pressburg had to come and adjust it, "for which I paid him two Gulden", wrote Haydn on 20 Nov. 1764.

Musical concerts at Eisenstadt were held by the entire orchestra on Tuesdays and Saturdays from two to four o'clock in the afternoon. "All the musicians are to appear". As long as Werner was alive, Haydn wisely concentrated on symphonic music, only occasionally venturing to compose vocal music (such as various cantatas for Nicolaus's name-day, 6 December, of which several have survived from the years 1763 and 1764). Haydn sometimes played the violin and sometimes conducted from the harpsichord, giving himself an elaborate solo part in the Esterházy Cantata "Qual dubbio" of 1764. The disposition of the scores for Symphonies Nos. 6–8, the first which Haydn wrote at Eisenstadt in 1761, shows that he required at least three first and three second violins, two violas, two cellos and one double bass (possibly two). He had the possibility of recruiting musicians from the local Parish Church of St. Martin, and also from the town of *Thurnermeister*; but in the period 1761-5, Haydn never seems to have required trumpets and drums at Eisenstadt except in an occasional work for the church (such as the *Te Deum* for Prince Nicolaus) and the odd C major symphony. By 1763 there were four rather than two horns, and we shall note the first time Haydn uses all four instruments in Symphony No. 13 (*vide infra*).

When Haydn required copies of his Morzin symphonies for Lieut.-Col. von Fürnberg, he used the services of various Viennese copyists, some of whom were so accurate that Haydn continued to employ them until the middle of the 1770s. Whether these over-worked gentlemen were always scrupulously honest is another matter. Mozart tells how one of the professional copyists wrote everything by Haydn double. "I really have (Haydn's) latest symphonies", he writes to his father on 15 May 1784 – obviously before he knew Haydn personally. As the Rohrau composer became increasingly famous, the Viennese copyists began to establish a profitable business in selling illegal copies of Haydn symphonies – often from an authentic set of parts which served as the "blueprint" to to anyone who would pay a few Gulden. Haydn himself soon realized that the professional copyists were making a fortune out of his music, and he must have pointed out to Prince Esterházy that (1) there was nothing a composer could do against pirated copies or even pirated prints and (2) it would be better to let Haydn himself do the selling, even if this violated the stipulation that the Prince was to be the sole owner of all his *Capellmeister's* products. It seems clear that Prince Nicolaus soon allowed Haydn a certain leeway in selling official copies of his symphonies, particularly if they were a few years old and not in the Eisenstadt repertoire any longer. Thus we find Haydn selling copies of Symphonies 14, 21 and 29 to Dr. Stocker from Linz, from whose legacy they were acquired by the St. Florian Monastery in Upper Austria; the copies were made by Joseph Elssler, Haydn's copyist at this period.

The Austrian monasteries were great collectors of Haydn's symphonies. Göttweig Abbey owned (or owns) copies of Nos. 1, 3 (lost), 4 (lost), 5, 9, 11 (lost), 12, 13 (lost), 16, 17 and 19 (lost). The Benedictine Monastery of Lambach in Upper Austria owned (or owns) copies of Nos. 1 (lost), 2, 13, 14, 15, 18 (lost) and 19 (lost). Both Göttweig and Lambach kept accurate thematic catalogues of their large music collections, from which we can see that, alas, both monasteries owned many Haydn works that have disappeared in the course of time. (Perhaps the most tantalizing item in the Göttweig Catalogue is the

entry for Haydn's lost violin Concerto in D, the theme of which is also known to us from *EK*. Perhaps even now the only possibly extant source to this work is somewhere in the cellars of Göttweig, awaiting discovery.) The Augustinian Monastery of St. Florian owns Nos. 1, 3, 4, 10, 11, 14, 15 and 16, while the great Benedictine Abbey of Melk owns Nos. 3, 4, 5, 12, 13, 14, and 16. The interesting thing about these Haydn collections in the Austrian monasteries is that the symphonies in question were not evenly distributed – except for very popular works such as No. 3. Of all the known Austrian monasteries, only the Benedictine Abbey of Seitenstetten (Upper Austria) owns a copy of Symphony No. 19 (they also have copies of Nos. 16 and 17). On the other hand, there were some of Haydn's symphonies, such as the trilogy Nos. 6 – 8 and No. 18, which were hardly distributed in the monasteries at all. (The only monastery copies of Nos. 6 – 8 are chronologically late MSS., acquired towards the end of the century.)

Even these very early symphonies soon travelled to northern Italy and especially Venice. The Biblioteca Marciana contains several textually valuable sets of Haydn's symphonies made by local copyists from Austrian sources (even to the copying of the German word "Pausen" for rests). One set of "XII Sinfonie Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn" contains Nos. 2, 27, 1, 18, 9, 3, 5, 19, 37, 25, 33 and 4, while another manuscript, entitled "VI Sinfonie Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn", contains Nos. 11, 23, a doubtful symphony (I C: 19), 10, 5 and 3. The trilogy Nos. 6 – 8 was also known in Venice. The great Giustiniani Collection, now in the Venice Conservatory of Music, includes "IL MATTINO, IL MEZZODI, E LA SERA/Tre Sinfonie . . . Del Sigr Giuseppe Haydn". Indeed almost all Haydn's early symphonies were known to the Venetian aristocracy in rather reliable local MSS. (in which, oddly enough, only the trumpets and timpani parts were regularly omitted).

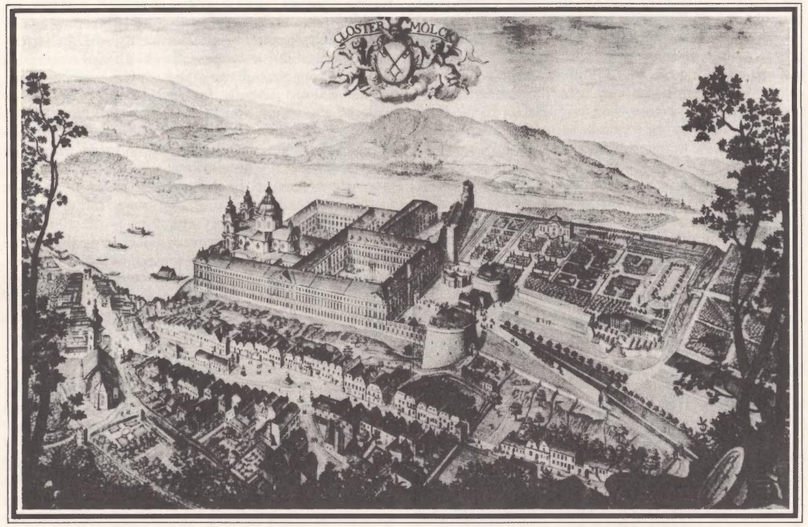
The great German princely houses at Regensburg (Thurn und Taxis) and Harburg or Wallerstein (Oettingem-Wallerstein) also ordered most of Haydn's latest symphonies from Viennese copyists. The collection at Harburg Castle owns Nos. 1, 3, 11, 12, 13, 16 and 17; while Regensburg has Nos. 3, 4, 5, 8, 9 and 14 (curious: only No. 3 is owned by both houses – perhaps at this stage, the princely houses and perhaps also the monasteries were jealous of their "new" Haydn symphonies and took care that neighbouring establishments did not have them).

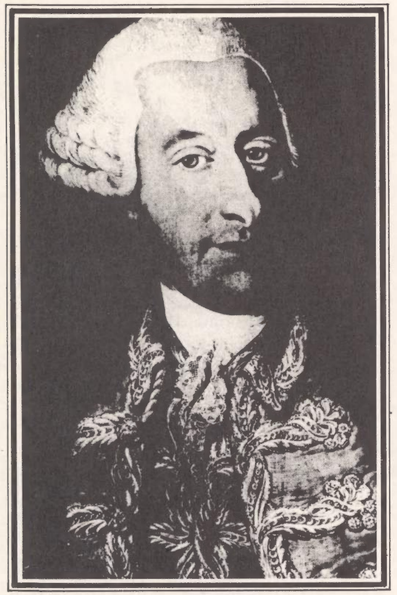
Readers of the notes to the other albums of this series will recall that Haydn was soon an immensely popular composer in France; that in Paris his latest symphonies and quartets were eagerly printed; and that such a brisk business in Haydn came into being that it proved profitable for those French publishers to pirate all sorts of spurious works by *seguaci* of Haydn's such as Ditters(dorf), Ordoñez, Leopold Hofmann, Vanhal and especially Haydn's talented brother, Johann Michael, first (c. 1757-61) Chapel Master at Grosswardein (now Oradea Mare in Roumania) and after 1763 *Conzertmeister* in Salzburg. All these spurious works were sold to the French public as genuine Haydn, who of course saw no royalties either from these spurious products or from his own pirated French publications. It was in January 1764 that "Six Symphonies ou Quatuors Dialogués . . . Composés par Mr Hayd'en (sic) Maître de Musique à Vienne" published by M. de la Chevardière, created a sensation in the Parisian musical world; they were Haydn's first string quartets. Chevardière immediately followed with further sets of Haydn's music, which he probably obtained from Viennese copyists or travelling virtuoso musicians: his second gathering was "Six Sonates en Trio pour deux violons & basse" (1765) followed by another set of "Six Symphonies ou Quatuor (sic) Dialogués" (1766) which included string quartets, a sextet with two horns (Hoboken II; 21) and a spurious *Divertimento* by Carlos d'Ordoñez.

The first Haydn Symphony to be published in Paris was No. 2, issued in March 1764 by Venier as part of a series, mostly by composers then little known in Paris, but which Venier cleverly described as by "Noms inconnus, bons à connaitre". The only copy of this Venier print is in the Conservatoire de Musique, Paris, and is entitled (as part of Venier's series) "Sinfonia XIV/Del Sigr. Heyden". The extant parts are only for strings, but the title page tells us that Les parties de Cors de Chasse, Hautbois, Flutes et Bassoons y seront comprises, mais le plus souvent d'elles ad Libitum"; so perhaps Haydn's oboe and horn parts were printed by Venier but have not survived.

At this very early period, it is entirely likely that Haydn was in total ignorance of this flourishing publishing activity with his compositions in Paris; certainly it is hardly possible that he supplied the manuscripts for any of these publications of 1764. But the Parisian houses obviously had their agents in Vienna – no doubt among the professional Viennese copyists who sent to Paris everything by Haydn they could lay their hands on, and also anything that sounded faintly like Haydn.

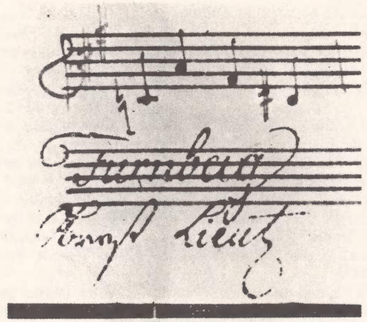
View of the monastery of Melk (Watercolour) Nationalbibliothek, Vienna





Joseph Haydn in the livery of the Eszterházy Musicians: the first Haydn portrait by J.B. Grundmann around 1768. According to tradition Prince Nikolaus commissioned this portrait (which was destroyed in 1945).

At this period, Paris has a virtual monopoly on Haydn publications. Of all the symphonies in this album, only one, No. 10, was first printed elsewhere. It was issued by J.J. Hummel, then of Amsterdam, about 1768, and was probably pirated from a Viennese MS. Some years later No. 10 formed part of a collection of "Six Simphonies for two violins, two hautboys, two horns, a tenor and violoncello, composed by F.X. Richter, G. Haydn and J.C. Spangenberg . . . London, Printed for C. & S. Thompson, No. 75, St. Paul's Church Yard" (the Haydn works were Symphonies 41, 20 and 10, in that order, as Nos. 4–6 of the print). But otherwise the French publishers had the market for Haydn's symphonies nicely cornered. Here is a list of the French editions of the symphonies included in this volume; the list has been arranged in chronological order.

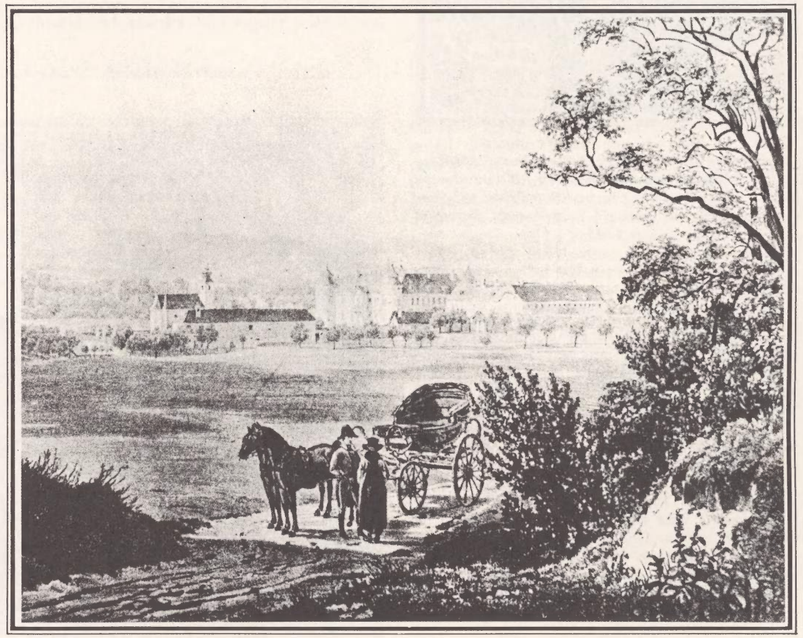
Date	*Work(s)*	*Publisher*
March 1764	2	Venier. Announced in the *Affiches, Annonces & Avis divers* on 12 March 1764; in the *Avant-coureur* on 26 March and on 1 April in the *Mercure de France.*
April 1768	33, *Divertimento* in G (II; 19), 32, 15, "B" (I:108) and 25.	"Six Simphonies ou Quatuor [*sic*] Dialogues" – *i.e.* all the winds omitted – published by M. de la Chevardière, Marchand de Musique du Roi, Rue de Roule à la Croix d'Or. See Decca series, Nos. 20–35, page 12. Copies of this print: British Museum, &c. announced in the *Mercure de France.*
Oct. 1769	17, a spurious work (by Herffert: I: Es 1), 29, 28, 9, 3.	"M. Bailleux, Maître de Musique, rue S. Honoré, à la Règle d'or", announced in the *Avant-coureur* on 2 October 1769. No copy has ever been loçated. Listed in the Breitkopf Cat. of 1769: "Oeuvre VII, Paris".
Dec. 1769	14, 3, a spurious work (Leopold Hofmann: I: C 2), another spurious work (II: Es 7), 5 and 23.	"Six Symphonies . . . Par Mr. Hayden Maître de Musique de Chapelle à Vienna. Oeuvre VIII . . . A Paris chez Madame Berault. Marchande de Musique Rue et à côte de la Comedie Françoise au Dieu de l'Harmonie". Announced on 11 December 1769 in the *Affiches* &c. Copy: Conservatoire de Musique, Paris.
1770	14	"Oeuvres de Trois Symphonies à grand et petit orchestre par del Signor Richter, de Sig. Ginsepp [*sic*] Toeschi, del Sig. Huyden [*sic*]. Ces Symphonies sont pour la commodité des grands & petits concerts, elles peuvent s'exécuter de même à quatre parties, en supprimant les autres instruments . . . A Paris de l'imprimerie de la Veuve Simon & Fils, Imprimeur-Libraires de S.A.S. Monseigneur le Prince de Condé, Rue des Mathurins. M. DCG. LXX. Avec Approbation & Privilege du Roi." Only one copy known: Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris (incomplete), but apparently the Finale was suppressed in this edition.
May 1772	11, *Divertimento* (II: 11), a spurious symphony (Mica or J.C.Bach: I C 26), 59, 34 and another spurious symphony (Ditters(dorf): I A 5).	"Six Sinfonie a grand orchestre composée par Gpe Hayden Maître de Chapelle à la Cour de Vienna Oeuvre XIV . . . A Paris chez Madame Berault" &c. Announced on 7 May in the *Affiches* &c. Only two known copies: Collection Alan Tyson (London) and Collection A. van Hoboken (Ascona).
1772(?)	6	"La Matina Sinfonia a duodeci parte concertante composta da Giuseppe Hayden Maestro di Capella del Principe Esterhasi [*sic*]. Mis au jour par Huberty Maître de la viola d'amour et cy devant del Academia Royale de Musique . . . A Paris chez l'éditeur Rue des Deux Écus au Pigon Blanc . . . Gravêz [*sic*] par Melle Huberty." First listed in a Huberty publisher's catalogue of 1773. Only known copy: Sächische Landesbibliothek, Dresden.
1776	8	"Six Simphonies a grande orchestre dont la dernière est la Soirée de Vienne composées par Mrs Hayden, Wanhall et Lausenmayer . . . Mises au jour par Mr Bailleix . . . Gravées par Mme Lobry. À Paris chez Mr Bailleux Md de Musique des Menus-Plaisirs du Roy: Rue St. Honoré à la Règle d'Or. À Lyon chez Mr Castaud, à Toulouse chez Mr Brunot, à Bordeaux et à Lille chez les Mds de Musique . . . Écrit par Ribière." Announced in the *Almanach Musical,* 1776. A copy in the Conservatoire de Musique, Paris, is from the Library of Louis XVI and is entitled "Musique du Roy 1776". The Paris copy is incomplete. A complete copy in the Bibliothèque Municipale, Bordeaux.

A contemporary copy of the first Symphony (c.1759) from the former Fürnberg Archives. From the part for second violin. Budapest, Nat. Lib., Music Dept.

Symphony No.1 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. "Les commencements obscurs d'un talent célèbre sont toujours un spectacle attachant", wrote La Harpe in the *Correspondance Littéraire*. There is no composer in the history of music who achieved the astonishing progression that we may observe in Haydn's music from 1749 (when he wrote his first Mass) to 1802 (when he wrote his last completed work of any size, the *Harmoniemesse*). There have been, of course, many composers who went through a similar development in their artistic careers – Monteverdi, Domenico Scarlatti, Gluck and Beethoven are names that spring to mind in this connection. But the road that Haydn had to travel is longer than that taken by any of his predecessors, contemporaries or successors. From Symphony No.1 to Symphony No.104 or from the Mass in F to the *Harmoniemesse*, Haydn's style underwent such an extraordinary metamorphosis that it would be hard to find a parallel in any of the arts, let alone in music. It is actually difficult to believe that the same man composed the Late Baroque music of the *Missa brevis* in F and "Winter" from *The Seasons*. And not only was it composed by the same man, but that creator, starting as an almost anonymous figure in the galaxy of Viennese music about 1750, invented the string quartet as we know it today, became the Father of the Symphony – the Germans called him by that name in 1800, even knowing that there were many predecessors in the symphonic field before Haydn – and the founder of what may be called the greatest school in the history of music. Nowadays Haydn's name is inseparably, and rightly, connected with those of Mozart and Beethoven, the one Haydn's most intimate musical friend and the other his unruly if violently talented pupil. The three were the principal exponents of the Viennese classical school.

Was Symphony No.1 Haydn's first effort in the *genre*? The composer believed so when he supplied the information to G.A. Griesinger, who became Haydn's most reliable biographer. Griesinger actually printed the *incipit* of the first movement, adding that the work had been composed in 1759 for Count Morzin. We have seen, however, that at least one Haydn symphony (No.37) exists in a manuscript dated 1758 from a Bohemian Castle Archives. No.37 is – for reasons explained above – certainly one of the Morzin symphonies. Perhaps Haydn began writing symphonies in 1757. Unfortunately no one has been able to locate the Morzin archives, though recently we have been given hope that we may one day discover it in Czechoslovakia. Our knowledge of Haydn's position with the family comes from Griesinger and also from Haydn's other "authentic" biographer, A.C. Dies. Until the Morzin archives are discovered, we can do no more than present this conflicting evidence.

In some respects it is better to think not of Haydn's first symphony but of the whole group for Morzin. Symphonies composed in 1757, the year that the real "Father" of the German-Bohemian symphonic tradition, Johann Stamitz, died, were not the individual affairs that they later became. Composers were happy to use the formulae bequeathed to them by their predecessors. In Haydn's case, there was not only the famous Mannheim school (of which Stamitz was the founder), with its rich legacy of orchestral effects, but also a flourishing local Viennese (or better, Austrian) school. The Viennese, as leaders of the Austrian movement, were immensely gifted but also distinctly conservative. The great Baroque tradition of Caldara, Fux and Haydn's own teacher, Georg

Weinzierl near Wieselburg in Lower Austria, the estate of Karl Joseph, Baron von Fürnberg, a patron of the young Haydn. Lithograph by Jacob Alt. Vienna, ONB, Cartographic Coll.

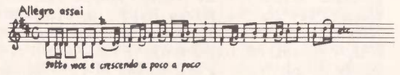
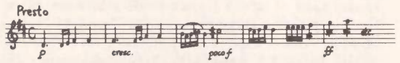


Reuttter Jr. was still very much alive when Haydn was a young man. The contrapuntal style was still cultiwated in church music, but a new and very Austrrian form had meanwhile arisen: it was called, variously, "Parthia", "Partita", "Cassatio" or "Divertimento" – Haydn used all these terms – and was a piece of music usually in five movements (fast – minuet & trio – slow – minuet & trio – fast),, sometimes in three (fast – slow – fast, or, in the *sonata da chiesa* tradition, slow – minuet & trio – fasst). The style of this Austrian *divertimento* – we shall use the term most widely adopted – was a mixture of street serenade, folk tunes and altogether "modern" music with fresh, open melodies and a distimctly unintellectual approach. No canons and fugues in the *divertimento*.

Viennese composers thus developed a curious duality of styles. Their church music was old-fashioned, with big fugues and other Baroque formulae; their *divertimenti* were frankly popular works for local consumption; their Italian operas were modelled on the many works south of the Alps which continued to flood northern Europe; their symphonies were a new hybrid form, utilizing elements of the *divertimento*, the three-movement Italian opera *sinfonia*, and the rich orchestral technique from Mannheim. The Austrians soon became specialists in the chamber symphony, a small-scaled form scored, usually, for oboes, horns and strings with the occasional flute and/or bassoon. The difference between the opera *sinfonia* and the real symphony was very small, so small indeed that Haydin's Overture to *Alcide e Galatea* (1763), in three movements, is found in contemporary MSS. – at Göttweig Abbey, for example – as a symphony; while conversely what is obviously an overture to one of the Italian "comedies" given at Eisenstadt in 1762 ended up its life as Symphony No.9.

Haydn, and most of his Austrian contemporaries, were rather sceptical of Mannheim and its "vermanneriette goût" (its over-mannered taste) – a now famous description by none other than Leopold Mozart. It was not only the crescendos and dimenuendos, the "rockets" (themes that jumped up the scale, and particularly the tonic triad), and so on, which the Austrians found exaggerated; it was also the prolix quality that we feel in many works by Johann Stamitz, whose famous symphonies are not well organized. These structural defects were partly remedied in works by Stamitz's contemporaries and pupils, e.g. Franz Xaver Richter (1709-89), who introduced serious fugues into his symphonies, or Stamitz's most brilliant pupil, Franz Beck, whose first symphonies published in Paris in the 1760s are even today astonishingly modern and passionate.

[1]The first performance of the work in modern times was conducted by Colin Davis in a series devised by the writer of these notes for the BBC in 1958 entitled "The Pre-Classical Symphony". The Symphony is published by Verlag Doblinger, Vienna-Munich.

We can observe what the Austrians thought of Mannheim by studying the local products in Vienna and the provinces – and not only Haydn's. In 1758 Florian Leopold Gassmann, later to become a well-known opera composer and also the producer of some excellent fugal quartets, was in Venice producing a new opera called *L'issipile*. The three-movement overture to this opera is preserved in a Viennese manuscript and was thus known to the Viennese as well as the Venetians. [1] The work is scored for the same orchestra as Haydn's No.1 except that the Gassmann also has trumpets and timpani (which Haydn's No.1 does not). Gassmann's work begins:

while Haydn's begins

Apart from this sturdy *crescendo* in No.1, and another one in the first movement of No.4, Haydn's symphonies for Count Morzin are astonishingly free of Mannheim effects: astonishing for us, perhaps, but certainly not for Haydn. The Austrians already had a school of their own which was pursuing paths entirely different from Stamitz and his school. Gassmann's flirtation with the Mannheim *crescendo* is no more serious than Haydn's. If we wish to see what talented Austrians, apart from Gassmann and Haydn were composing, we may turn to the early works of the Viennese-born Spaniard, Carlos d'Ordoñez, whom Haydn was in 1775 to invite to compose an opera for Eszterháza Castle. Ordoñez, two years younger than Haydn, began writing symphonies some years before his more illustrious colleague. The Austrian monasteries began to collect Ordoñez's symphonies as early as 1756; in that year Göttweig Abbey copied a C major Ordoñez Symphony beginning with an *Adagio*, and in 1756 or 1757 Kremsmünster Abbey copied another C major work (in the more usual three movements, beginning with an *Allegro molto*, and with trumpets and timpani) which Lambach Abbey owned in a slightly reduced orchestration. Ordoñez also composed a very original Symphony for three choirs: two of trumpets and timpani and a third with oboes, horns and strings. Perhaps this was literally a church symphony, to be played with the various choirs separated as in the Venetian Basilica of St. Mark's. The heavy brass tradition continued, in Vienna, side by side with the chamber symphony; in 1757 Haydn's teacher, Georg Reutter Jr., composed a "Servizio di Tavola" with no less than four trumpets and timpani (and including a fearsomely difficult trumpet solo).

In those days, trumpets and timpani were in Austria synonymous with the church and with C major, the key in which most solemn masses were written. Reutter's "Servizio" is in C, and so is Ordoñez's multi-choired Symphony, and when Haydn began using trumpets and timpani for Count Morzin, as in Symphonies Nos. 32 and 33, he automatically placed them in C. It was not until the 1770s that Haydn used trumpets and drums in anything but C: again, one more typically conservative Austrian trait.

If we may sum up Haydn's symphonic style at this period we may find four distinct types of works composed for Count Morzin:

(1) Ordinary symphonies in three movements (fast – slow – fast), scored for oboes, horns and strings: Nos. 1, 2, 4, *etc.*

(2) Church-sonata symphonies in four or three movements (slow – fast – minuet & trio – fast, or, as in No.18, slow – fast – tempo di minuetto): Nos. 5, 11, 18, *etc.*

(3) Symphonies with four movements: fast – slow – minuet & trio – fast: Nos. 3, *etc.*

(4) Symphonies in C with trumpets and timpani, in three or four movements: Nos. 20, 32, 33, *etc.*

We shall note the interesting exceptions to this rule as we proceed.

In Haydn's No.1, then, we have a typical three-movement work of the period. It is to be noted that the second subjects of the first movements are in the dominant *minor* at this period (in the tonic minor when they return in the recapitulation).

The slow movements are almost never adagios but andantes and in "light" metres, *e.g.* two-four (as in No.1, also in No.2), while the Finales are also in a quick metre, usually three-eight. Slight though this music is, the astute connoisseur will observe that it is formally immaculate; every note is in its right place. Haydn had written many works before he started on symphonies, and orchestrally he had composed *divertimenti* for strings and various combinations of wind instruments, not to speak of a successful German opera (*Der krumme Teufel*). His experience with wind instruments received an impetus from living in Bohemia. There we find a great tradition of woodwind and brass playing, and of composing *divertimenti* for wind band. Haydn began writing such *divertimenti* for Morzin, and by 1760 had composed half-a-dozen, most of which were discovered by the writer of these notes in Czechoslovakia some years ago. (We could identify the works by the *incipits* in the *Entwurf-Katalog*.) In 1760, when he was also busily composing symphonies for Morzin, Haydn found the time to compose a fascinating *Divertimento* in F for two *cors anglais*, two horns, two bassoons, and two violins (H: 16). Apart from the *outré* orchestration, this work marks the beginning of Haydn's long and fruitful flirtation with the *cors anglais*, an instrument which is as much part of his language in the 1760s and 1770s as the clarinet was to be with Mozart. (Haydn tried the

clarinet in several works composed about 1761 but obviously found the instrument technically crude – this was long before the appearance of such players as the Stadler brothers – and in general unsatisfactory.)

Symphony No.2 in C. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is a much more learned work than No.1. The Baroque dotted theme of the first movement lends itself to contrapuntal development. An interesting innovation is that there are no repeat signs in any of the movements, and the whole work is what the Germans call "durchkomponiert". The second subject is, as usual, in the dominant minor, and it is connected to the first subject by the dotted lead given to the first violin (bars 41, 43, but even in the horns at 40). In the middle of the development there is a beautiful *pianissimo* passage (bars 86ff.) which leads us to a kind of false recapitulation: the real reprise is brought in after still another lengthy *pianissimo* section lasting all the way from bar 113 to bar 133. The second movement is an *Andante* in two-four metre. As in almost all these slow movements, the wind instruments are silent. Here we have another experiment: a kind of *perpetuum mobile* in which the violins play in semiquavers from the first to the last note (both are quavers!), the pattern being constantly broken by the use of trills. The Finale (*Presto*, three-eight) is one of the first of Haydn's clear-cut rondos. The initial "A" section is broken up into *a-b-a*, and a similar tripartite division may be observed in the "B" and "C" sections which are, respectively, in the tonic minor and in the subdominant (the latter marked *pp*). Whereas No.1 was mainly constructed of many small motifs, No.2 is largely based on single motifs, and with our hindsight we know that it is No.2's method that will become the hallmark of its composer.

Symphony No.3 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is in many respects the most "modern" of all these early symphonies. The modernity comes, firstly, in the construction of the first movement, with a second subject in the dominant *major* and a delightful flourish for the oboes (thus introducing a contrast not only in key but also in instrumentation). Another aspect of this modernity is the fact that the work is in four movements with a full-fledged minuet and trio as the third movement: this is to set the pattern, after much wavering and second thoughts, for the mature Haydn. And paradoxically, another facet of the work's modernity is its old-fashioned use of counterpoint almost throughout. In fact Haydn's mature style was to include, almost as second nature, a streak of Baroque contrapuntalism which continued through Mozart and was also cultivated by Beethoven, whose "Grosse Fuge" carries the art to ultimate splendour and complexity. We note that the theme of the opening movement lends itself to polyphonic treatment, giving the movement a multi-voiced richness that is immediately arresting. The second subject, with its oboe solos, and also the trio of the minuet, with its solos for oboes and horns, show strong traces of the Austrian *divertimento*. The second movement is a fine G minor *Andante moderato*, very much beholden to the Austrian Baroque tradition. But even more Baroque is the *Menuet* (as Haydn calls it), which turns out to be a canon between top and bottom lines at the interval of one bar: this created a *furore* at the time âs was literally imitated – even to the actual key in the case of both imitators – by Michael Haydn and W.A. Mozart, but also by Joseph Haydn (in Symphony No.23, 1764). The climax of all this preoccupation with contrapuntal forms is the Finale, which is a sturdy double fugue in the manner of J.J. Fux, the great Austrian Baroque composer whose contrapuntal treatise, *Gradus ad Parnassum*, was Haydn's model (and of which Haydn made a brilliant extract for his pupils). Haydn's is not a "straight" fugue, however, but is used in conjunction with elements of sonata form, e.g. modulation to the dominant. This fugal Finale is the great-grandfather of the Finale in Mozart's *Jupiter* Symphony, but before 1788 Haydn himself will have refined the fugal last movement to an instrument of rare delicacy and strength.

Symphony No.4 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. A bright, energetic opening movement has the second subject in the dominant minor, but there is a brilliantly modern *crescendo* at the beginning of the development, each time to accentuate a passing dissonance. The slow movement is another kind of *perpetuum mobile*, this time with the second violin moving in restless syncopations throughout. The muted violins are also to become one of Haydn's best-loved effects, especially in the early 1770s. The metre is two-four and the tempo *Andante*: this is not yet the time for soul-searching adagios, and the melancholy of this D minor movement is of an Italianate kind, the quiet winter mist of the Venetian Lagoons which Haydn will have learned at second hand, *via* Vivaldi (who had died in Vienna in 1740). The Finale, entitled "Tempo di Menuetto", is Haydn's clever combination of the minuet (though in 3/8 rather than 3/4) with the typical finale form; the long lead-back to the recapitulation is noteworthy: it begins at once on the right side of the double bar and continues, in a gigantic pedal point, right up to the reprise, the dynamic level sinking to *piano* (and the bass line dropping an octave), then to *pianissimo* (with long held horns). It reveals the hand of the master, for although on a small scale, the timing is perfect.

Symphony No.5 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo*. This is a work in the *sonata da chiesa* form, with an entire opening slow movement; and here, in these works, we have for the first time real adagios (see also No.11) rather than andantes. Except for No. 18's opening movement (which is slower than the usual *andante*), all the beginnings of Haydn's church sonata symphonies are marked *adagio*. Here we have an interesting example of how Haydn applies the *divertimento* technique to such a solemn movement as this: hardly have the strings begun by themselves (leading us to believe that this is a typical wind-less slow movement) than the solo horns enter with a passage of great difficulty. Haydn even withholds the oboes until bar 20. In the recapitulation, the horns are expected to go up to sounding a^2. To balance this fantastic hybrid *Adagio ma non troppo* Haydn writes a very tight second movement, with springy rhythms and wide dynamic contrasts (second subject announced only by the two violins). The *Minuet* (Haydn's spelling: until the middle of 1760 he wrote "Minuet", after that "Menuet") is wholly Austrian, with its folk-tune echoes and dynamic contrasts, and the Trio once again turns to the *divertimento* for its horn and oboe soli, the first horn arriving twice more at the appallingly difficult a^2. In such a movement as this Minuet and Trio, Haydn was light years away from the Mannheim school, and equally far removed from the grave Baroque grandeur of Vivaldi and his followers. In the Finale to No. 5, Haydn creates a very short but very effective conclusion to this church-sonata work: taking a leaf from the second movement, we find wide contrasts between the theme's beginning (two violins alone, p) and continuation (*tutti*): this use of the two violins all by themselves was a feature of the second subject in the *Allegro*.

Symphony No. 6 in D (*Le Matin*). Scoring: flute, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (with *violono concertante, violoncello concertante* and double bass solo), to which we have added a *harpsichord continuo*. The programmatic content of these three Symphonies – "Morning", "Noon" and "Night" – has long since disappeared, if indeed Haydn ever made it public. These were his calling cards at Eisenstadt in the Summer of 1761, and clever diplomat that he was, the composer gave difficult and ingratiating solo parts to all his new "first-desk" men in the orchestra – the surest and quickest way to a musician's heart. Some of the symphonies have elaborate parts for the leader (Luigi Tomasini) and the first cellist, others have real *concertino* sections, as in an old *concerto grosso,* for two violins and cello. Each Trio of the Minuet has an elaborate solo for the double bass, and there are solo sections for the flute, the first oboe, bassoon and occasionally for the horns, too. By returning to the old *concerto grosso,* Haydn gave a novel twist to the Austrian symphony and created works which were a breathtaking fusion of suite, symphony, *concerto grosso,* solo concerto and *divertimento*.

No. 6 opens with what is almost certainly a description of the sunrise. Many years later, in the Oratorrios *The Creation* and *The Seasons,* Haydn was to do the same thing in an even more grandiose and impresssive manner. In "Le Matin", Haydn accomplishes his sunrise in the six-bar introduction, the first that he composed for a symphony. The ensuing *Allegro* is based upon a subject for solo flute, next ttaken up by the oboe and then by the whole orchesstra. Shortly before the end of the exposition there are the first instances of Haydn's use of *fortepiano* within the symphonic form: the effect is to add a nervvous impetus to the whole movement. The development is notable for the retransition to the recapittulation: here is the first example of such imagimative woodwind writing in a Haydn symphony (quite different from the *divertimento* – like solos we hawe noted earlier).

The second movement is perhaps the crown of the work. There are three sections, an *Andante* flanked on both sides by an *Adagio*. The winds are dropped; a solo violin and solo cello are introduced, and this *concertino* is balanced by a *ripieno* (to use the Corelliian terms) of strings and harpsichord. What begins to be an amusing parody of a singing lesson (do-re-mi-fa-sol...) gives Haydn the opportunity of displaying his mastery of polyphonic string writing. This do-re-mi is a kind of slow introduction to the *Andamte*, a stately Baroque dance in 3/4 time (as contrasted with the 4/4 of the flanking *Adagio* movements). Concluding the *Andante* are two chords in the style of a closing recitative. The scale parody is then reintroduced except that every vestige of humour is removed, and in its stead Haydn gives us a most heartfelt and moving tribute to the beauty of the Baroque age – then a thing of the past.

The elegant *Menuet* – a bit French in its poise – brings back the wind band; and the second part has a passsage for unacompanied wind instruments that reminds us of this work's proximity to the wind band *divertimenti* mentioned earlier. The astounding Trio, with its grotesque double bass solo, is another deliberate excursion into the tonal world of the Baroque.

The Finale (*Allegro*) has a solo violin and solo cello part. The solo violin is required to play a long and technically difficult solo in the middle part of the movement, and one is strangely reminded of the Fourth Brandenburg Concerto and its great solo violin part (Haydn could not have heard the Bach work, which was totally unknown in Austria). It is clear that Haydn won his leader's heart and support with this flattering but musically well integrated solo (one of many for Tomasini but perhaps the most difficult). Even the two horns explode into prominence immediately after the big violin solo. As we listen to this movement, we must remind ourselves that it was a brillliantly original way of pouring new wine into old bottles.

Symphony No. 7 in C ("Le Midi"). Scoring: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (with *violino I concertante, violino II concertante, violoncello concertante* and double bass solo), to which we have added a harpsichord *continuo*. The work opens with a short, slow introduction (*adagio*) based on a typically Baroque dotted figure. This dotted rhythm, a direct descendant of the French overture, appears also in the violin Concerto in C which Haydn wrote about 1761 for Luigi Tomasini. In contemporary practice, this dotted rhythm was actually double dotted. The ensuing *Allegro* has for its main feature repeated semiquavers over a sturdy quaver bass line, the whole in unison. As the movement unfolds we notice that the top and bottom line are written in double counterpoint at the octave. Instead of modulating directly to the dominant, Haydn brings in his *concertino,* still in the tonic, in the manner of a concerto. The flute is not used in this movement, but the oboes have parts so soloistic that they could almost be considered part of the *concertino*; and even the bassoon is used as a solo instrument. Here we have a kind of "symphonie concertante".

The most remarkable idea in "Le Midi" is the Recitative which constitutes the second movement. The solo violin parodies the anguished soprano heroine in a Metastasian *opera seria*; she is accompanied by strings – a real *recitativo accompagnato* such as Haydn himself was to write all his life. Haydn found the concept of an instrumental mock-recitative fascinating, and used it again in a *Divertimento* written about 1761 (II: 17) scored, by the way, for the interesting combination of clarinets, horns, violins, two violas and cello-base. All through the music of the Viennese classical school, this attempt to introduce recitative into purely instrumental music runs like an unbroken thread. Michael Haydn tried the experiment in one of his greatest Serenades for large orchestra; Mozart has a recitative in one of his Salzburg *Divertimenti;* and of course all music lovers remember the great instrumental recitative in the Finale of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony.

After the angular strength and curiously moving power of the recitative, Haydn adds the prescribed V–I cadence, ending in B minor. In the next movement, *Adagio*, we are in G major, and in the first bar two flutes (not previously used in this Symphony) suddenly soar over the sustained solo violin and the accompanying strings. The effect of G major after B minor and the soft warmth of the flutes is like the sudden and unexpected release of a damned spirit who is now free, like Orpheus (in Gluck's music with the great flute solo), to walk in the Elysian fields. (But Haydn's "Le Midi" preceded Gluck's *Orfeo* by one year.) Our surprises are not yet over, however, After approaching the close of the second part in normal fashion, Haydn leads the music to a six-four chord, whereupon the solo violin and solo cello are given a long cadenza to themselves – written out by Haydn and not, as was usually the case in eighteenth-century music, left to the performers to improvise. In the midst of this section, a few bars of *Allegro* are introduced, almost as if we were witnessing an improvisation by a soloist during the cadenza of his concerto. After a long, prepared cadence, with the concluding trill, we have a short tutti, just as if we were in the middle of a concerto.

The *Menuetto* (again Haydn's term) drops the flutes but has a prominent part for the woodwind and horns, also retained in the Trio with its solo for the "Violone" (double bass). The merry Finale reintroduces the flute and contains the concertino of two solo violins and solo cello, to which the flute contributes a fourth solo instrument.

Symphony No. 8 in G (*Le Soir*). Scoring: 1 flute, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns, strings (with *violino I concertante, violino II concertante, violoncello concertante* and double bass solo), to which we have added a harpsichord *continuo*. No. 8 is equally diverse. The opening *Allegro molto* in 3/8 time begins with first and second violins only, *piano*. The length of the phrases is rendered unequal by the violin flourish in bars 13/14, thus creating the famous kind of "limping" subject that we so often find in Haydn's string quartets. The movement is also noteworthy in that there is only one subject: here is one of the first of many times, culminating in the celebrated Finale to the *Drum Roll* Symphony (No. 103) some thirty-five years later, in which Haydn's sonata movement is strictly monothematic. The development of No. 8 has, near the beginning, a fine sequential passage that is again typical of the period.

The *Adagio* has a close connection to the *concerto grosso*: again we have two violins and cello as a *concertino,* while the bassoon wavers pleasantly between its old function as part of the *basso continuo* and its new rôle as a solo instrument. Emotionally it is a curious movement, and one wonders what it was supposed to represent.

The *Menuetto* is perhaps the most popular of these three symphonies: everyone in Eisenstadt Castle will have whistled the tune after its first performance in the great hall (still extant, by the way). The connoisseurs will have relished the plunge into the minor during the second part and the exquisite writing for unaccompanied woodwind (to which the viola, after a few bars, adds a delightful wash of colour). The Trio has the solo for double bass that we have now come to expect (the reason being that a trio was just the right length to present the unwieldy "Violone" as a solo instrument).

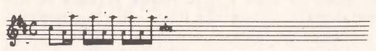
The Finale, which the composer entitled *La tempesta* (the storm), is a typical Rococo conceit: one of Ignaz Holzbauer's symphonies also includes a "tempesta di mare". Here Haydn indulges in true programmatic writing: the flute – not the timpani – is used to depict lightning, and the string basses imitate thunder. It is not a very realistic storm, but it will have delighted the festive audience, to whom the awe-inspiring storms of Haydn's *Seasons* and Beethoven's *Pastoral* Symphony (not to speak of Berlioz in *Les Troyens* or Wagner at the beginning of *Die Walküre*

were not yet revealed. (Storm scenes are the musical effects that age the most quickly.)

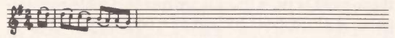
The trilogy was a great achievement and the Esterházys realized that they had as their Assistant Chapel Master one of the finest musical minds in Europe. With "Le Matin", "Le Midi" and "Le Soir" Haydn clearly won the old Prince Paul Anton Esterházy's heart, and also that of the younger Prince Nicolaus, who in a year would ascend the Esterházy throne. The trilogy was a highly auspicious beginning to Haydn's new career with the greatest Hungarian magnates of the period.

Symphony No. 9 in C. Scoring: 2 flutes, 2 oboes, bassoon, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a harpsichord *continuo*. The autograph of this three-movement work bore the date 1762. Ending as it does with the Menuetto & Trio, we have suggested elsewhere that the Symphony might originally have served as the overture to one of the many shorter Italian operas that Haydn conducted at Eisenstadt in 1762 and 1763 (we have the titles of many of them: *Il dottore, La vedova, Il sganarello* and *La Marchesa Nespola,* but only some of the music of the latter has survived). Also the whole thematic material and organization of the opening movement is more that of an overture than a real symphony; it reminds us very much of Haydn's Overture to *Acide e Galatea.* The opening movement is scored for oboes, horns and strings. The *Andante* introduces two flute parts and drops the horns. In the Menuetto we return to the scoring of the first movement, except for one surprise in the Trio (a delicious waltz which astonishes because of its early age): in the second part we read, over the bass line "Fagotto" and later "Tutti bassi". The solo bassoon part is the bass line of a charming wind band section. It shows that Haydn expected the bassoon to double the bass line even although not specifically required until this tiny solo in the Trio. (Incidentally, none of the known Morzin symphonies contains any bassoon parts; this might mean that Symphony "B", which contains a bassoon solo in the Trio, is an early work for Eisenstadt rather than one of the Morzin group.)

Symphony No. 10 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* Another brilliant D major Symphony for Morzin (the others are Nos. 1, 4 and 15), with a main theme containing strong contrasts between *p* and *f* and big chords in the violins. This is the most outwardly brilliant of these four D major works, with dashing repeated figures in the violins



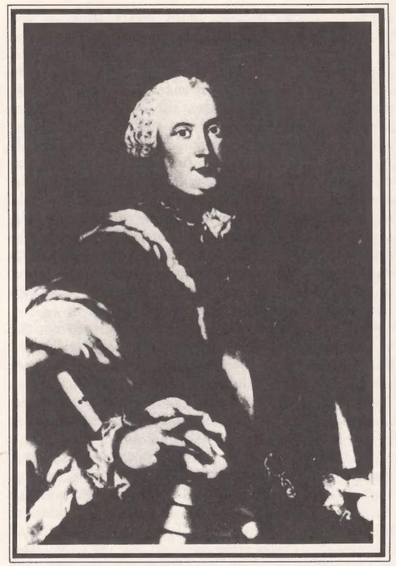
There is a perfect *fausse reprise* a few bars after the development begins – too close to the double bar to make us believe that the real recapitulation is at hand. Actually, this practice comes from another trait entirely, and that is Haydn's habit of modulating immediately back to the tonic at the beginning of the development and then starting the real course of modulations thereafter. The second subject is in the dominant major (not minor), and altogether this little work looks distinctly forwards and not backwards. The *Andante*, for strings alone, is in two-four time and in G major, the subdominant, and the movement is dominated by what is known as a "sighing" motif, that is the stepwise progression downwards, as in:



This graceful and gentle *Andante* is an excellent contrast to the boisterous spirits of the opening movement and the dancing three-eight Presto with which the work concludes.

Symphony No. 11 in E flat, Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* A fine church-sonata Symphony, with a gravely beautiful opening *Adagio*, scored for horns and strings (oboes *tacent*). Haydn made some important revisions in the horn parts of this movement, just before the double bars of both sections (score readers: 28ff., 75ff.), adding sustained notes throughout rather than a crotchet to reinforce the *f* at bars 28, 30, 75 and 77). He added these personally to the horn parts of the Fürnberg MSS. in Budapest. The second movement introduces the oboes. The *Allegro* is the hard-driving, tightly rhythmic foil to the luxuriant spaciousness of the opening *Adagio.* The second subject is a contrapuntal variant of the first subject, but scored only for the two violins, *piano*. Throughout we note that the main theme has been so worked out that it can be contrapuntally exploited (e.g. in canon at the recapitulation, bars 112ff.). The *Minuet* (Haydn's spelling) is of an irresistable rhythmic drive and of a bizarre construction (the main section twelve bars, subdivided into seven plus five). The Trio, for strings only, has an odd syncopated pattern that fills the violin parts, the actual syncopations sliding unobtrusively from second to first violin and back again. The racy and sophisticated Finale is built on the retrograde of the main theme of the second movement (originally: e flat - f - g - a flat, whereas in the Finale a flat - g - f - e flat) but using the syncopated rhythm of the trio. It is on a larger scale than most other Morzin finales, as indeed all the church-sonata symphonies exceed in physical size and emotional scope the other, more normal works of the period.

Symphony No. 12 in E. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The autograph of Haydn's Symphony No. 12 is in the Esterházy Archives in Budapest and is signed "In Nomine Domini" and "Giuseppe Haydn 763." Three



Prince Paul Anton Esterházy. Oil Est. Coll. (Photo: Coll. H.C. Robbins Landon, Buggiano)

symphonies are known to have been composed in 1763: Nos. 12, 13 and 40 (the latter very much out of place in the old numbering); each is an entity and each completely different from the other: the dashing bravura of No. 13, with its four horns and kettledrums; the elegant, suave No. 40, with its pixie-like, wistful slow movement and its concluding fugue; and the present work, radiant, glowing, with something of a fresh Spring day about it.

Nos. 12 and 14 are perfect miniature symphonies. The miniature quality of No. 12 is reflected not only in the small size of the work as a whole – it lasts little longer than fourteen minutes – but also in the construction of the individual movements. The opening shows us that this is a "chamber" symphony: the first subject is piano (where we know that the average symphony began forte). The warmth of the key, E major, and the brightness of the string sound are well utilized by the composer. The second subject, with an imitation between upper and lower strings, continues the intimate tone, Mozart lovers will recognize in the second subject something very like the opening part of the *Magic Flute* Overture (Modulation to a half close on the dominant). 1791 is rather a long way from 1763, but Symphony No. 12 isis the gate to the Viennese classical period: it is a moddest gate, small and beautifully wrought: but the cleveer listener can peer through to the vast green gardden on which the little portal opens.

Aall during these experimental years, Haydn's sympphonies weave into their fabric elements of other musiical forms: the concerto, even the *concerto grossso,* the *divertimento* (including the wind-band varieety), and of course the opera. We recall the operratic origins of No. 7's Recitative. No. 12's slow movvement, an *Adagio* in "siciliano" or rocking rhythm, also has its roots in the operatic aria – not so much in the actual form but in the underlying spirit. It is a ratheer serious movement, in the minor; and its strong, virilee accents admirably set off the soft and gracious warrmth of the opening *Allegro.*

The Finale (marked "Allegro di molto" on most earlyy MSS. but "Presto" on the autograph) bubbles overr with high spirits. The jaunty opening subject acquires its lilt from the peculiar type of phrasing whicch accentuates the up-beats. The furious but brillliantly controlled energy of this Finale also gives us aa clue to the kind of movement that will dominate Hayrdn's symphonic thought in 1764 and 1765: its culmination, the farthest point to which this energy can be strained, will be seen in the opening movement of Symphony No. 24 and the Finale of No. 29.

Haydn was in such high spirits that he even forgot to aadd his usual "laus Deo" at the end of the manuscrippt.

Symphony No. 13 in D. Scoring: flute, 2 oboes, 4 horrns, timpani and strings, to which we have added a basssoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The autograph of this work is also in the Esterházy Archives, Budapest, signed and dated 1763. Of the three symphonies composed in that year, No. 13 is the grandest. Part of its immediate effect is the large size of the orchestra – one of the biggest Haydn used until 1774. The use of four rather than two horns is striking: in 1763, the little band at Eisenstadt was enlarged to include four "corno da caccia" (hunting horn) players, all of whom seem to have been excellent musicians. Slightly later Haydn wrote two symphonies (31,, 72) and a *Cassatio* to show off his four horn players in "hunting" works (complete with horn calls and the like). It is not only that the size of the orchestra is bigger on paper, but Haydn knows how to make this large wind band sound new and different. It is almost as if he were showing his new Prince, Nicolaus Esterházy (who had acceded to the title a yeaar earlier), how worthwhile it had been to enlarge the group of musicians. The very opening is stunning: the wind instruments are used in massive blocked chords, holding the harmony over many bars like a sonorous organ, while the strings pierce through with theiir highly rhythmic unison figure.

In the autograph, the timpani part was added at the botttom of each page on a free stave; but not in Haydn's hand. The ink shows, however, that it was added very early, possibly by the timpanist under Haydn's supervision, for it is a very Haydnesque part and contributes much to the dash and vigour of the quick movements. Actually, we have evidence that the timpani part is contemporary, for we find it in several old copies: in the Archives of the Princes of Oettingem-Wallerstein (now Harburg Castle), in the Wallerstein Archives – a different family – at Schloss Hirschberg (Doksy), now in the Prague National Museum, and in the music archives of Námest Castle (now at Brno, ČSSR).

Unlike its numerical mate, No. 12, the present D major work is a festive piece. There is hardly anything of the chamber musical atmosphere of No.12 and indeed, the opening movement of No. 13 might be an operatic overture. There is no real second subject, and most of the movement is built round the terse rhythm of the strings at the beginning. The little figure at bars 15ff. assumes great importance in the development section. The recapitulation brings in the whole subject *piano* instead of *forte,* and the *f* enters dramatically a few bars later, with the four horns in fanfare striding up the open harmonics of their instruments.

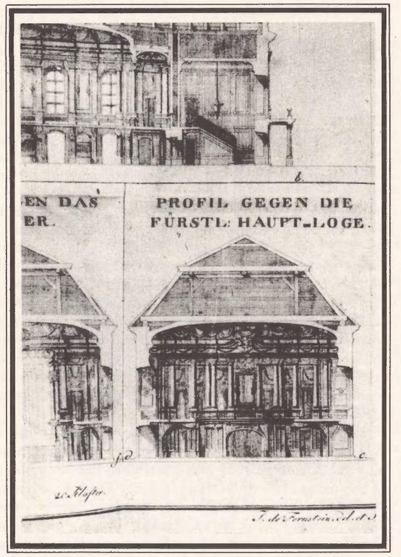
We have pointed out, in connection with No. 12, that many other musical forms leave their imprint on Haydn's experimental symphonies of the 1760s. The lovely second movement of No. 13 is taken straight from the realm of the solo concerto. This *Adagio cantabile* could in fact be a slow movement from one of the Haydn solo cello concertos of this period (he wrote at least two, one of which is lost). All the winds (and of course the drums) are silent, and the string orchestra accompanies discreetly. Haydn's "first desk men", as we would call them today, were all great virtuosi; Michael Kelly, Mozart's first Bartolo, and an Irishman of wit and ability, described the Esterházy orchestra as a band of professors. Even the double bass player was sufficiently gifted not only for the solo passages in Nos. 6-8 but also for Haydn to write a concerto for him, alas lost. We shall see another purely concerto movement in the *Adagio* of Symphony No. 24 (for solo flute). Here, in No. 13, we have "concertante" music in the noblest early classical tradition: highly decorated but never overladen, luxuriant in breadth but never too long, in that fine taste for which the Viennese school was always (and rightly) celebrated.

In Symphony No. 12, there was no time for a minuet. But No. 13 is on a bigger scale and the *Menuet* is written with the same *panache* as the rest of the work. There are many strong dynamic contrasts, especially the *pianissimo* passage in the second part (strings and horns), which sets off the dramatic chordal pattern of the opening and closing sections. The Trio is again a solo – this time for the flute. But whereas the slow movement drew its inspiration from the concerto, the Trio seems to hark back to the *divertimento* form, in which the trios were often reserved for a solo player. The light style and "Lombard" rhythm when the flute plays without any accompaniment seem to transport us to the world of *Tafelmusik.*

We have seen in No. 3 how Haydn experimented with the fugue to lend greater power and weight to his finales. String quartet players will also remember the brilliant fugal finales in Haydn's Quartets of Opus 20 (1772), in which this type of contrapuntal prowess reaches a climax of great emotional and formal proportions. Apart from this severe style (Haydn would have probably called it "lo stilo antico"), the composer tried out various other methods to make the final movements more weighty in content. Here in No. 13 he uses a Fuxian *cantus firmus* together with a countersubject in what theorists call "third species" counterpoint; and readers will at once recognize the famous Gregorian "Credo" theme of Mozartian fame (*inter alia* the *Jupiter* Symphony). No. 13's Finale is not a fugue, however, but a skilful combination of sonata and fugue (notice the *stretto* shortly before the end); and it was in this hybrid form that the Viennese classical school was to revive, in a last golden harvesting, the beauty and strength of a vast contrapuntal tradition that stretched back into the late Middle Ages.

Symphony No. 14 in A. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The autograph of this delightful miniature symphony has not survived. The oldest and textually most reliable copies were made by Haydn's copyist, Joseph Elssler: one is in the University Library of Frankfurt-am-Main and the other (mentioned above) is in the Monastery of St. Florian. Like No. 12 of 1763, this work – composed about the same time – is a whole symphony in miniature; but unlike No. 12 it includes a minuet and is thus a perfect, if small-sized, specimen of a Haydn symphony composed in the early 1760s. There are no particular experiments; yet if one were to choose any single work to illustrate a highly developed symphony of the early classical period, this one, just because of the fact that it indulges in no formal or instrumental experiments, would serve perfectly.

In the first movement we may observe a stylistic trait which is typical of Haydn's symphonies in the 1760s: the whole is welded together by the constantly repeated quavers in the bass line.This lends to the music a highly nervous quality: it is something peculiarly Haydnesque, and while all his life he liked to keep the music "moving forward" by this device, it is especially in these early symphonies that the repeated quaver (if in barred C, repeated crotchet) assumes such an insistent, driving force. This great unifying factor must have fascinated Haydn's contempories, too; for it was just these symphonies of the 1760s. that began to circulate in manuscript copies throughout the Austrian monarchy and which spread his name throughout Central Europe. It is fascinating to see the astuteness with which the monks of the great Austrian and Bohemian monasteries collected Haydn's music. By 1770 such abbeys as Melk, Göttweig and St. Florian owned more symphonies

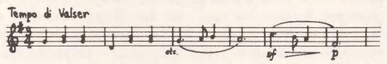


Picture of the opera house from the "Description of the Prince's Palace of Eszterháza in the Kingdom of Hungary" dated 1784. Engraving by Joseph von Fernstein, Budapest, Nat. Mus.

and quartets by Haydn than they did by almost any other composer. When one of the monks wrote on the title page of a symphony "male" (bad) you can be sure he was generally right. Towards the end of the 1760s Haydn was turning out masterpieces of the order of No. 26 ("Lamentatione") and No. 39 in G minor, and when the monks at Lambach Monastery acquired the rather low-powered Symphony No. 58 they thought it "schlecht" ("bad"). They were Haydn's most fastidious judges.

We have spoken, in these notes, of the fact that the concerto, the opera, the *divertimento,* and so on – non-symphonic forms, in other words – are occasionally woven into the fabric of Haydn's symphonies. The second movement of No. 14, an *Andante* which became very popular and was even printed for piano solo by a German magazine in February 1766. This *Andante* originally formed the Finale (a theme and variations) of a very early *Divertimento* in C entitled "Der Geburtstag" (The Birthday) (II: 11), scored for flute, oboe and strings. Haydn created a whole movement in No. 14 using this obviously successful tune; he changed the original shape, which was symmetrical, making it asymmetrical and adding a cello part doubling the melody at the lower octave. The *divertimento* technique persists in the *Menuetto* and especially in the Trio, which is an oboe solo in the tonic minor. In the final movement we are squarely back to the new type of Haydn finale of which No. 13 was a typical example. Here in No. 14 we again have a *cantus firmus* with a counter-subject which is written in double counterpoint at the octave. The whole movement is a fascinating hybrid: the old "light" (6/8) metre is combined with the new contrapuntal texture, even to little *stretti.* Thus a miniature symphony, in Haydn's hand, could continue the exciting task of perfecting the *genre.*

Symphony No. 15 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* The first movement is formally the most interesting of all the Morzin symphonies. It is in the French overture style, with a *Presto* flanked on each side by an *Adagio* of substantial proportions. In the first of the adagios, the oboes are not used at all, and in the final part they only appear towards the end. Once more we feel the influence of the *divertimento* in these adagios, both in the horn solos and in the *pizzicato* string accompaniment; and there is a strongly Austrian feeling about the music, not least in its winning charm. The *Presto* section is *durchkomponiert* and without the customary double bar. There are two features to which we might draw attention. The first is a sly quotation of Symphony No. 4's opening theme that occurs at bars 37ff. Actually Haydn has quoted only the rhythm and not the actual notes, but the rhythmic content is so strong that we immediately think of the (numerically) earlier work. In this connection we would do well to remember Professor Hans Swarowsky's famous old question to his conducting classes: what is this?



Why the "Emperor's Hymn" ("Gott erhatte"), or as young people today would identify it, the German national anthem – written by Haydn in 1797. With the rhythm distorted to a waltz, no one ever realizes the actual sequence of notes. In the Viennese classical school, it is always the rhythm which is the most important factor. The second point we would make in connection with this dashing *Presto* is about the second subject: it starts in the dominant major but immediately slips into the minor. This is a typically transitional feature (in the end, the dominant major will win out).

The second movement is a *Menuet* characterized by dotted rhythms *à la française,* while the Trio, for violins, viola solo, cello solo and double bass, sounds as if it had come straight out of an Austrian *divertimento.* The third movement is a winning *Andante* in the usual two-four time. Students of Haydn's style will note with interest the syncopated passages at bars 22ff. and 68ff.: the violins on the off-beat, the lower strings playing equal quavers marked *staccato.* This will soon become an integral part of Haydn's style in the 1760s, where we find it in everything he writes, even vocal music (some beautiful examples in the *Stabat Mater* of 1767 and the *Missa Cellensis in honorem B.V.M.* of 1766). The Finale in a three-part *Presto,* of which the entended middle section is in the tonic minor and for strings only, with a running second violin part.

Symphony No. 16 in B flat. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* This is an early Eisenstadt work and another example of a perfect miniature symphony in three movements. The opening *Allegro* is composed in double counterpoint at the octave, as the listener can hear all during the main subject (the top and bottom lines being reversible). The part of the theme first given out by the violas and bass line is an old tune used by Mozart and others as a kind of *cantus firmus.* Because the theme and its countersubjects are so rich, Haydn has no need of any other material and the movement is solidly monothematic. The warm-hearted *Andante* follows the trend of No. 14's slow movement in having a cello double the melody at the lower octave. The Finale is an irresistable six-eight movement that races along like a call to the hunt.

Symphony No. 17 in F. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* One of the earliest known sources of this work is a manuscript copied by the German-American composer J. F. Peter on 12 December 1766 and taken with him to the New World, where it now resides in the Moravian Archives of Winston-Salem, North Carolina. It is thus one of the earliest works by Haydn to be heard in the United States. Symphony No. 17 has one of the most solidly symphonic first movements of all Haydn's early works in the *genre.* Here we may observe the breaking-down of themes into small motifs which are used like mosaics to create the rest of the movement. Rhythmically the whole *Allegro* is held together by the bass line in marching quavers which cease only very occasionally and are often transferred to another line, as in bars 34ff., where the two violins play alone, the second violin taking over the quavers formerly confined to the bass. The second movement (*Andante, ma non troppo* in two-four) drops the wind instruments and is in the tonic minor. It has that typically Italian sense of *tristezza* which we find in most of the minor-key movements of Haydn's early symphonies: a gently sad music without grief. The Finale is a very concise *Allegro molto* in three-eight time. It is, incidentally, typical of many early Haydn symphonies that the first movements are the most interesting, formally and musically, while the last two movements *together* may be said to round out the opening.

Symphony No. 18 in G. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* This is one of three Morzin symphonies in the *sonata de chiesa* form, *i.e.* with a whole opening slow movement. No. 18's is an *Andante moderato* which has a spiritual affinity with church sonata symphony, No. 11, in that both open with the second violin, bringing in the first like a fugal answer some bars later (*dux* and *comes*). As in many such openings we have a strong dotted rhythm like that of a French overture: this dotted pattern is the central feature of this movement. The wind instruments are retained, as they always are in church-sonata adagios (or andantes). The second movement has tremendous rhythmic drive and proceeds with the explosive force that characterizes many such allegros in early Haydn. This is highly personal music; it uses the conventional clichés of the period but the drive and sharply etched rhythms are Haydn's own. It shows its age only in one old-fashioned feature, the use of the second subject in the minor. For the concluding movement Haydn chose that favourite hybrid, the "Tempo di Menuet": an overall A-B-A form of which the "A" section is in three subsections (a-b-a). "B" is almost like the middle part of the Gavotte in the Ballet Music to Mozart's *Idomeneo* (K. 367) – Mozart could have seen or heard the work in Lambach Monastery where he sometimes spent the night, and for the friendly monks of which he and his father each composed a symphony.

Symphony No. 19 in D. Scoring: 2 oboes, 2 horns and strings, to which we have added a bassoon and harpsichord as part of the *continuo.* Although not among the Morzin symphonies contained in the now famous Fürnberg collection at Budapest, No. 19 is very much of the period and cannot have been written much after Haydn's arrival in Eisenstadt. It is in the usual three-movement form, the second in the tonic minor (two-four time) and the third a *Presto* in three-eight time. But our admiration for the formal efficiency of the opening *Allegro molto* (again with impeccable use of small motifs) is only equalled by our delight in the finely wrought *Andante.* Here we find great rhythmic variety, including several bars of these typically Haydnesque syncopations over a steady quaver bass line. The jaunty Finale is equally well composed. It is miniature art of the finest calibre.

In fact, upon listening to the Morzin symphonies, one is again and again struck by the professional assurance with which these small works are filled. Haydn's boundless energy is balanced by his supreme technical confidence. He writes symphonies, indeed, as if he had composed dozens, like Stamitz, prior to 1757. And although it was not the fashion in those days for composers to wear their hearts on their sleeves, nevertheless Haydn cannot conceal either his energy or his great *joie-de-vivre* with which all these works are divinely filled. Taken as a group, the Morzin and early Eisenstadt symphonies are a most auspicious beginning to the Viennese classical style – the acorns from which, *da vero,* mighty oaks would grow.

The full scores and orchestral parts of all Haydn's early symphonies are published by Verlag Doblinger, Vienna-Munich, edited by the writer of these notes. Miniature scores of Nos. 1-19 are contained in volumes one and two of the Philharmonia series, the *Critical Edition of the Complete Symphonies by Haydn* (Nos. 589, 590), where the reader will find notes on the sources and on the more important textual problems. The separate miniature scores of Nos. 1-19 are also published by Philharmonia.

H.C. Robbins Landon
Buggiano Castello,
May 1973.

A stage set of antique ruins from 1762 (presumably by Girolamo Bon, who was also in the service of Prince Eszterházy). The opera was an important part of life at Esterháza. Budapest. Nat. Lib. Dept. of Theatrical History.